593 /25 cont./ in practice. Younger women are dependent upon the older ones. The element of opposition is not to be found among them; on the contrary, what is prized is their mutual helpfulness and cooperation.

A sexual relationship between a woman and her son
593 practically does not occur. No examples of this were found in
● 835 the registers of the native courts. Only one of the informants could recall such a case, which was supposed to have taken
[538] place before 1905. Stories in which this relationship plays a part are unknown to me.

/26/ A sexual relationship between a man and his daughter occurs with more or less regularity. In the registers of the native courts of all South Celebes, one encounters an estimated four or more such cases annually. This implies that such an occurrence is a rarity in a particular adat community which is still remembered after decades. Stories concerning a father-
538 daughter relationship are found in the Islamic sphere. They generally run about as follows. A well-known religious scholar who has come from Sumatra marries a Makassarese woman. While their child, a girl, is still very small, he moves on, and only 20 years later does he return to Macassar. There he marries a young woman, and after a time he notices by a certain sign on her head or by a certain ornament which he gave to his wife 20 years before that it is his own daughter whom he has married. Together they search for someone who will tell them what they should now do. It is God who tells them that they have committed the greatest sin possible, but that this can be forgiven them because they knew not what they did.

593 In the forms of social intercourse and conduct in daily life, a fear of violating the existing prohibition is here reflected that is not observable in the mother-son relationship. If a man comes home and his grown-up daughter is alone in the house, her little brother or niece is called in as a matter of course. Then both feel more at ease. The risk remains that otherwise people would talk about them. Accordingly, a man prefers not

Accordingly, a man prefers not

593 /26 cont./ to go alone with his grown-up daughter to a kampong
574 where they are unknown, for instance, so that there they will not be regarded as a married couple and addressed as such.

593 The reason for this latter form of incest (salimara') occurring with
835 more or less regularity and that of mother and son so rarely was explained by an informant who said that in general the lower generation must obey the higher one, a son his mother and a daughter her father. So it seems generally assumed that
[833] initiative to a sexual relationship (in this case evil) originates with the man.

A sexual relationship between a man and his sister practically does not occur. I do not recall having encountered a single instance of this in the registers of the native courts. /27/

538 The brother-sister relationship is one of the leitmotivs in the La Galigo epic. The relationship of Sawerigading to his twin sister Tenriabeng is one of great intimacy (1). In the

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1. R. A. Kern, Catalogus van de Boegineesche tot den I Galigo cyclus behoorende handschriften der Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, alsmede van die in andere Europeesche biblioteken /Catalog of the Buginese Manuscrips belonging to the I Galigo Cycle in the University of Leiden Library, as well as of Those in Other European Libraries, Leiden, 1939/, Leiden, 1939.

heroic poem Datu Museng, the hero's wife I Maipa is likewise described as his twin sister. They were separated shortly after birth and did not meet again, ignorant of each other's past, until they were grown up. Datu Museng became enamored of her, and they married. So the poem is recited (2) by several

2. In the Makassaarsche Chrestomathie one finds another version. There it is

591 /33 cont./ A matrilocal marriage is not a mandatory prescription. The houses of the parental couples are close to each other; kinship to father and mother are equally valued. On the basis of these facts, the observed tendency to matrilocal marriage remains unexplained. In my opinion, [182 the reason is to be found in the relationships obtaining among 593] the members of the family, and especially in the formal, stiff relationship between father and son, which makes it difficult for the latter to conduct himself in an unforced manner in the company of the former (1).

1. See pp. 31, 32.

The beginning of a marriage is frequently difficult (2).

2. See Chapter III, second part.

The parents who /34/ have brought it about and feel responsible for the smooth course of events do everything in their power to make it seem attractive for the young man to move in with his wife. That is not the case if he lives in his father's house. To this is added the fact that the young wife feels most comfortable in her familiar environment, with her mother and little sisters. If she should live elsewhere, it is much more difficult for her to go back to her mother, however small the distance between the houses may be.

182 The strict separation between the sexes, which results
562 in the young women being strongly tied to house and grounds,
591 thus furthers the occurrence of matrilocal marriages as does
593 the stiff relationship between father and son.

Sexual Relationships between Members of a Household

● 435 Sexual relationships between members of a household who do not belong to the same /nuclear/ family occur more

835 /34 cont./ frequently than those between members of the same family. Such relationships are sometimes also regarded as incest (salimara'). Irrespective of kinship relationship /sic/ these /sexual/ relationships are always considered especially reprehensible.

583 588 In a case where a man fled with his wife's niece (kamanakang), this was the reason that the reconciliation, otherwise customary after a flight, could not be brought about (1).

1. Compare Chapter III, third part. See pp. ff.

582 835 A marriage between children of the first marriage of a widower and a widow who later married so that their children came to belong to one household was forbidden in rural areas. In Macassar such a marriage was contracted. The person performing the marriage ceremony took the point of view that no objections were to be found against such a marriage under Moslem law.

835 Relations of a man with his brother's daughter or sister's daughter, or with his father's sister or mother's sister, is regarded as salimara'. The native courts punish these cases 684 with banishment for the same number of years as was cited above with respect to relations between a father and daughter. The first mentioned, that between a man with a woman of a lower generation, occurs much more frequently than the last named, that with a woman of a higher generation. The reason for this difference in frequency is said to be /35/ that a young girl has greater difficulty in resisting her uncle than a woman with regard to her nephew. From this it may again be concluded that the common opinion is that the evil initiative toward sexual contact proceeds from the man. 538 Myths or other stories concerning such relationships are unknown to me. According to rumors, such relationships did

835 /35 cont./ occur at the courts of princes without being further discussed in public, even though they led to pregnancy.

684 In the same manner the court of justice handled a case
835 of a man's relations with his stepdaughter, and that of a man
593 with his stepgranddaughter. The court of justice declared
608 that although no blood relationship existed between the accused, these two young women were nevertheless regarded as daughter and granddaughter respectively, because they had lived with their stepfather and stepgrandfather from childhood on and had been reared by them. Here there exists a certain doubt, therefore, whether the case can be regarded as salimara'.[1]

608 Cases of sexual relation between a woman and her stepson
835 were not registered. This does not mean that these do not occur. At the most it may mean that these cases occur less frequently than those in which the man belongs to the higher generation (1).

587 1. The idea exists that when a
593 widower remarries, his second wife treats her stepchildren with less kindness than her own. No heart-rending examples of this could be noted, however. In
[754] one case the hostile attitude originated with the two girls who suspected their stepmother of having killed their own mother by means of a formula (pangassengang), in order to be able to marry their father.

The relationship of a man
[578] with his stepson is a tense one. Quarrels occur that lead to physical violence and fights such as are unknown between a man and his own son.

1 [i.e. incest. - Aug/71]

587 /35 cont./ In several cases a man married the younger
835 sister of his deceased wife. One likes to see sisters "succeeding each other on the pillow" because it is believed that the children from the first marriage will be better taken care of by someone who already knows them well than by a stranger, and also because by such a marriage existing ties in the family are continued. At the same time, several cases were
[837] registered in which a man made his wife's sister pregnant.

Such a relationship generally is not regarded as salimara'. /36/ It does, however, cause a great deal of commotion because, according to the decrees of Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at one and the same time. In such a case the man must first oust his wife, therefore, and only after the iddat period has elapsed, may he marry her sister. During the entire period, he, like the pregnant woman, is tumannjala (1) with respect to her brothers and other male

1. See Chapter III, third part.

relatives.

[578] It is said that this man has made two women unhappy at once. Reconciliation takes place less readily, and the commotion is greater than in the case of an "ordinary"
[684] marriage by flight. In a verdict handed down by the Sawitto Native Court, a couple was sentenced for salimara' in such a case. In his opinion on this verdict, Dr. A. A. Cense called this interpretation incorrect. He thought that only after the decrees of Moslem law became known did the notion arise that this relationship should also be regarded as salimara'. I cannot declare myself in entire agreement with him on this point. The interpretation does show, however, that, just as in the cases of sexual contact between a man and his stepdaughter, here, too, a doubt exists as to whether or not this

587 /36 cont./ relationship is to be conceived as salimara'.
● 835 Defining it as salimara' means that such relationship is considered in connection with the bad consequences for the country. It signifies that such a relationship is found "very bad."

Household Tasks

462 Rice pounding, weaving, and cooking are female occupations par excellence. However they are not entirely [592] household affairs.

For the 129 houses, 75 blocks for pounding rice were 252 592 counted (2). On the average, therefore, more than one rice-

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2. The Kapala group is relatively the richest: for 81 houses it numbered 53 blocks. The Mangenre group numbered 7 for 18 houses, and the Rest group 15 for 30 houses.

pounding block exists for every two houses. The blocks lie near the houses. A house apart has its own block, but where the houses are close together, as is usual where the inhabitants are close relatives of each other, there one block may be used jointly by as many as three houses. Common use of one and the same block is a matter of course where the /37/ users are kinsmen. It attains the nature of a favor if this is not the case.

286 592 It is safe to assume that around 20 years ago, at a time when sarongs were still woven at home in greater numbers than is the case today, the number of looms was also greater. Then each house probably possessed one loom apiece. At that time it would, therefore, have been possible to contend that sarong weaving was a family affair. In 1948, 101 looms were counted for 129 houses (1), a number of women no longer have

582 /208 cont./ In case of a marriage which is regarded as
585 unfavorable, extra ritual is performed in order to assure a favorable outcome nonetheless. /209/

Selection of Marriage Partners according to Status (Hypergamy)

554 Marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly forbidden.
582 It is simply regarded as impossible. "It cannot be" (tena nakulle) is the reaction to such a suggestion.

835 Any contact of a man with a higher woman is also strictly
554 prohibited. This is indicated by the same term (salimara'), used to denote a sexual relationship between members of the same family /in narrow sense/ which is known as incest.

It is believed that if salimara' takes place the country will be overcome with misfortune. It is said that the paddy will no longer grow and that no more children will be born in
[731] such a case. In the case of crop failure or an epidemic, one accordingly looks for people suspected of having committed salimara'.

684 The guilty couple must be punished by death. In the old lontar one reads that the blood of these people may not touch the earth; they must be drowned. The hadat (native court of
[692] law) punished this offense during the last decades with the banishment of the couple for a few years to different places outside the realm. After the period set by the court of law had elapsed, these people did not return to their kampongs; the danger of being stabbed to death in spite of the judge's sentence still seemed to be too great (1).

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1. This is a direct consequence of the fact that under the influence of the administration these offenses were always very lightly

622 /233 cont./ them, because then the tumasiri'-tumannjala
627 relation would have been removed for him while it would continue with respect to his other kinsmen. The upshot now was that after a short meeting the couple returned home with the man's kinsmen who had come along, taking with them the sunrang, fine, and cookies. The general opinion was that the fault lay with the gurukampong who had exerted too much pressure.

627 Arguments that are adduced to sway the wife's kin group to agree to a reconciliation state that the woman longs so much for her mother, that people who are related to each other belong together, and that the man's mistake is a small one. In the event that the woman takes refuge with a man, and, to an even greater degree, if she marries an outsider in a pregnant state, the reconciliation can usually take place very soon, that is to say, within a few months.

On the other hand, the tumasiri' frequently have reasons of their own to refuse a reconciliation, reasons which the superior on his part also understands and accepts. When a man had been stabbed to death during his flight and the woman shortly thereafter married an outsider, an attempt at reconciliation failed because it was argued that it was necessary to wait until her brother had returned from jail where he was now held for manslaughter through her fault.

For a man who fled with the niece (kamanakang) of his wife
[627 who had lived in his house as a young girl, no reconciliation
● 935] could be brought about. The fact that he had fled with a housemate was reason for the kinsmen to feel especially siri'. His crime in this case was considered very great.

After the flight of a man with his wife's sister, where the wife should have first received the talak because, according to Moslem law, a man may not be married to two sisters at once, reconciliation was refused since the first wife was still "unhappy." /234/ Not until she was remarried, so it was believed, would the reconciliation be possible.